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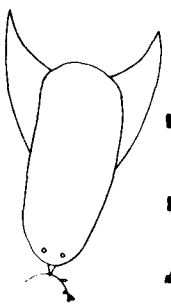

IS THE ABM MORAL?

Edward S. Boylan argues the case that it is....page 303

Does this man look worried? He should. See . . .

THE DEMYTHOLOGIZING OF LOUIS EVELY

by John L. McKenzie. Page 307

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YAMBO OUOLOGUEM & THE BLACK PAST

***Linda Kuehl interviews the author of* Bound to Violence**

ALSO GREGORY BAUM **ISAAC'S JESUS AND ISRAEL**
TISSA BALASURIYA **INSURRECTION IN CEYLON**
MARYELLEN MUCKENHIRN **CATHOLIC MODERNISM**
CORRESPONDENCE **AGGIORNAMENTO & HITCHCOCK**

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NEWS & VIEWS

Protecting Americans

It may be a strained historical comparison—the post-Pearl Harbor herding of 110,000 Americans of Japanese descent into detention camps, and the mass arrests in Washington of 12,000 Mayday demonstrators.

But it's not so strained to Congressman Spark M. Matsunaga (D.-Haw.), who linked the two via editorial inserts into the May 17 *Congressional Record,* under the heading TROUBLED TIMES ARE NO EXCUSE FOR AMERICAN CONCENTRATION CAMPS.

Matsunaga saw the insertions strengthening his bill seeking the repeal of the Emergency Detention Act, or Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950.

This is the Act which permits establishment of concentration camps, and authorizes detention of "each person as to whom there is reasonable doubt to believe that such person probably will engage in, or probably will conspire to engage in, acts of espionage or sabotage."

The Act is a hang-over from the anti-Communist hysteria of the mid-century. Though six concentration camps were actually opened and maintained from 1952-58, the Act has not figured prominently in domestic policy. It is, however, a hidden threat to constitutional guarantees, and thus Rep. Matsunaga is moving for repeal.

"It is a harsh irony," he commented in the House, "that in troubled times, when adherence to the rule of law is more important than in normal times, government is tempted to ignore certain legal and constitutional rights of American citizens—in effect to act illegally." . . . No idle statement considering how the Mayday police sweeps tickled the President and Vice President and evoked commendation from the Attorney General.

More than 150 Congressmen have joined Matsunaga in sponsoring repeal of Title II, an impressively large number. The House will take up the question this session.

Into the Breach

Remember the missionary who praised U.S. bombing in Laos to the *Boston Globe*, even if the bombing's killed "hundreds of thousands, because otherwise this country would not be free"? He's back in the news.

The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* wants to know what curious circumstances placed this Father Menger in Washington at the very time that Rep. Paul McCloskey (R-Cal.) was arriving back with charges that U.S. bombers were deliberately destroying Laotian villages and creating new refugees by the thousands.

Menger, a Laotian hand of 15 years and close friend of Ambassador McMurtrie Godley, acted as an interpreter for McCloskey during the latter's fact-finding trip to Laos. In Washington, he labeled the McCloskey investigation superficial and claimed that McCloskey received no such information as he was using. McCloskey countered by charging the priest was biased and may have misinterpreted for him.

But that's periphery, so far as the *Post-Dispatch* is concerned. It asks, who is Menger and who brought him to Washington?

Apart from agreeing that he's "a militant anti-Communist," neither the *Globe* nor the *Post-Dispatch* sheds much light on Menger; they're not even in agreement on his first name. The U.S. Catholic Directory settles that point and his *bona fide* as cleric; it lists a "Menger, Matthias, O.M.I., (SProv), Vientiane Laos Mission Catholique."

But who brought him to Washington and why?

The U.S. State Department concedes that he was invited to discuss refugees and other problems; the government paid his fare.

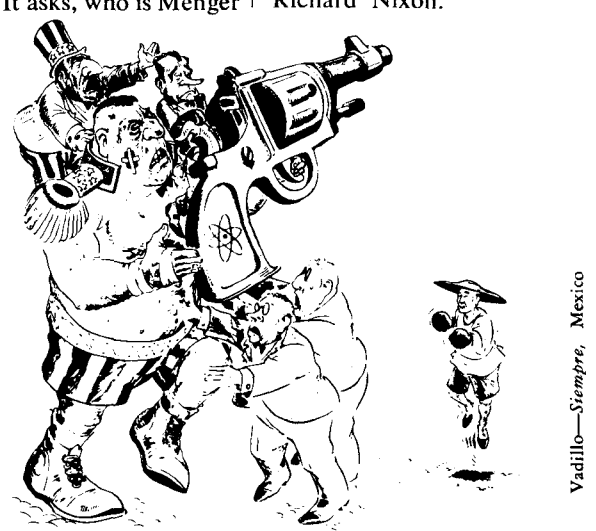
What State does not concede is ulterior motive in using Menger against McCloskey.

But some folks are skeptical. *Boston After Dark*, an overground-underground weekly, wonders:

"Does the Nixon Administration really consider McCloskey such a threat that the likes of Father Menger must be hauled in from Southeast Asia to counteract his criticisms and charges? Could Nixon be a bit nervous about the New Hampshire primary . . . ?"

Maybe not nervous. But after the LBJ experience in New Hampshire in'68, better to be safe than embarrassed.

McCloskey is the Congressman who's making noises about entering Republican Presidential primaries against Richard Nixon.



Vadillo—*Siempre*, Mexico

Changing Scene, Clergy

Another clue to how much the priesthood has changed beyond the Vatican wall is the new duty incumbent on touring heads of religious orders: visiting order members behind jail walls.

On May 2, Father Pedro Arrupe, superior general of the Jesuits, passed through the gates of Danbury Federal Penitentiary to call on Father Daniel Berrigan, S.J.

Father Arrupe said later that he felt he "could console a brother."

About the same time, Father Aniceto Fernandez, master general of the Dominicans, was visiting three friars jailed in Brazil for "subversive activities."

"I was impressed to find the prisoners, not sad nor hopeless nor aggressive, but serene and ever more firm in their priestly and religious vocation," said Father Fernandez.

Odds and Ends

—It isn't just peace radicals who are giving the Bank of America fits; it's the investment community as well. The bank was forced to withdraw a $100 million issue of 6¼ percent capital notes on May 21, after $30 million of the bonds went unsold. The notes were first offered in early April through the bank's 1,000 California branches.

—Add another bishop to the growing ranks of peace prelates. Bishop Joseph A. Durick of Nashville wants U.S. troops out of Vietnam by Jan. 1.

—*Overview* newsletter finds Parkinson's law validated anew by a detail of the 1971 Official U.S. Catholic Directory: bishops, up 11 from 1970; clergy, down 1,031.

—Finally, if you're wondering about the church in Cuba, there are more Catholic seminarians (68) now than there were before the Revolution. JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Hitchcock's Hypotheses

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: Mr. Hitchcock's article [May 14] proved only one thing to me. *Commonweal* is virtually the only magazine I know which is willing to publish, from time to time, not merely minor dissents but articles criticizing the basic outlook of the editors. That is the crucial difference between you and the conservatives Mr. Hitchcock supposes have been proved right. Congratulations. J. L. COOK

Charlottesville, Va.

To the Editors: I have read with much interest the article "Aggiornamento Has Failed" by James Hitchcock [May 14]. Interestingly enough, I found myself agreeing with most of his premises but disagreeing with many of his conclusions.

In my judgment, Mr. Hitchcock failed to give all the premises and thus many of his conclusions were wrong. For example, he gratuitously asserts that "the chief dishonesty of the reformers was their studious concealment, even from themselves, of the problem of belief." I would certainly agree that the main problem for the reformers has been a crisis in faith; a crisis that extends to the very depths of our Christian commitment. However, the premise which Mr. Hitchcock overlooks is that every Catholic and every Christian today is having a crisis of faith, either consciously or unconsciously. In fact, it would be safe to say that any so-called "Christian" who is not having a crisis of faith has not really faced up to his Christian commitment.

In Mr. Hitchcock's failure to face up to the deep psychological fears and doubts about faith which also fill the hearts and minds of the conservatives, he omits a very essential premise that will explain many of the problems among Catholics today. Adding this fact results in a considerably different

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POPE PAUL'S LETTER

"Society is divided into two widely different castes: those who manipulate for their own benefit all the sources of supply, and the needy and powerless multitude, sick and sore in spirit. . . . A small number of the very rich have been able to lay upon the teeming masses a yoke little better than that of slavery itself. . . . It is shameful and inhuman to treat men like chattels to make money by. . . ."
—Rerum Novarum

The quotations are from Pope Leo XIII in 1891, but are they so irrelevant to our own time? Granted, of course, the condition of the poor and the worker has immeasurably improved in the advanced industrial countries like Great Britain and the United States, although even in those countries wealth is concentrated and few workers have any real share in either ownership or management. But does not the picture painted by Leo still hold true for the majority of mankind living in the Third World? And what of the disenfranchised poor who still exist in our midst, surrounded by affluence but denied a decent human minimum nonetheless?

Pope Paul's recent apostolic letter, "The Coming Eightieth," commemorates the anniversary of *Rerum Novarum* and, although more informal in tone and not itself an encyclical, must be seen as being in a direct line with that pioneering social document. Like Leo, Pope Paul warns against rigid Marxist ideology on the one hand and against *laissez faire* individualism on the other. Citing the new problems that have developed since *Rerum Novarum,* he calls for a "pluralism of options" and summons all men to action in achieving "the two basic aspirations of modern man," equality and participation. In the face of social problems ranging from poverty and rapid change to urbanization and alienation, a variety of pragmatic solutions is possible: "the same Christian faith may lead to different commitments," and Pope John's valuable distinction between Marxist theory and actual practice under certain conditions is repeated. For a racially divided world, there is this admonition: "In a country that belongs to each one, everyone should be equal before the law, find equal admittance to economic, cultural, civic and social life, and benefit from a fair share of the country's resources." Much room is left for decision on the specific shape of reform in particular circumstances, but the goal is clear: "There is need to establish greater

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justice in the sharing of goods, both within national communities and on the international level, in order to counterbalance increasing technology. Modern forms of democracy must be devised not only to make it possible for each man to become informed and express himself, but also to allow each person to involve himself in a shared responsibility." Particular attention must be paid to the problem of the city in which "man is experiencing a new loneliness . . . in an anonymous crowd which surrounds him and in which he feels himself a stranger." And throughout the letter, special papal concern for the poor is obvious: "The Gospel instructs us in the preferential respect due to the poor and the special situation they have in society. The more fortunate should renounce some of their rights so as to place their goods more generously at the service of others."

The papal message, then, is a call to individual and collective effort at reforming society. And in this words are not enough, as the Pope said: "It is not enough to recall principles, state intentions, point to crying injustices and utter prophetic denunciations. These words will lack real weight unless they are accompanied for each individual by a livelier awareness of personal responsibility and by effective action." For those who know Pope Paul's long-standing concern for the social question, the new apostolic letter comes as no surprise; indeed, it is a fitting extension of the social doctrine in his historic 1967 encyclical, *Populorum Progressio*. This letter was very appropriately addressed to the head of the Commission on Justice and Peace—appropriately, because that is the body intended to promote international social justice, to help the underdeveloped countries and to seek ways to establish peace in the world. What remains to be seen, though, is how seriously the world will take the papal message. When *Rerum Novarum* was issued, the ruling classes were incredibly smug, brushing off all warnings about their folly in ignoring the explosive discontent that was beneath the surface. Today a comparable discontent is endemic throughout much of the world. As in the days of Leo, the call of Pope Paul is to action, and the question it poses is clear: will the rich nations and individuals really work to shape the world anew along human lines, or will they simply wait, as previous rulers did, for a violent explosion to blow them into the discard of history?

Harry Lorin Binsse, Commonweal*'s Managing Editor from 1938 to 1947, died May 19 in the city of Quebec after a short illness. He was a genial and considerate colleague who refused to be discouraged. Endowed with an encyclopedic mind and insatiable editorial curiosity, Harry Binsse excelled as a translator, critic and commentator. His contribution to the magazine was a substantial one. May he rest in peace.*

PATTERN FOR ASIA?

INSURRECTION IN CEYLON

On the night of April 5, 1971, armed bands of young men attacked about 100 police stations in several provinces of Ceylon, especially in the mountainous rural areas. They succeeded in capturing many of them, obtaining the arms and ammunition and thereby getting control over large sectors of the 25,000-square-mile island. The forces of the government of the world's first woman Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, have now succeeded in quelling the rebellion and getting back control over most of the island—except for little pockets of resistance in the jungles of the hill country.

The country has been rudely shaken by the happenings of the past weeks; and the world has become aware of the significance of Ceylon in international politics and military strategy. More important than these has been the discovery of the state of utter frustration of the rural Ceylonese youth who thus challenged the government and nearly succeeded in capturing power. These youths ranging from about 16 to 25 years of age are well indoctrinated in Marxist-Maoist thought, and disciplined and trained for violent revolutionary action. Though educated up to high school, if not university, they are rural, landless and jobless. It is their frustration, as well as the support of outside forces, which took them on their revolutionary path.

The aim of Ceylon's youthful rebels was the straightforward capture of power in order to establish a self-reliant Marxist-type socialist regime in Ceylon. Their violence, according to them, was only made necessary by the government's resort to violence to defend its power. Hence their violence was to be temporary and directed mainly against the defenders of law and order —such as the police, the armed forces and some government agencies. Why did they act?

The youth in rural Ceylon, especially in the hinterland, had given up hope of betterment through peaceful and legal means. They form a part of the 700,000-900,-000 unemployed youth, most of whom have been educated under the extensive system of free education from kindergarten to university. Unemployment has been increasing in Ceylon with the steady increase in the population and the deterioration of the economy. Today about

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one in every four families has an unemployed young person. The educational system inherited from colonial times and heavily weighted in favor of the Arts and Humanities does not help give youth employable skills and an appreciation of physical work. Education even tends to make them unemployables. Education communicates consciousness among the young about their hopeless position and the exploitative nature of the economy without imparting the means or the enthusiasm to find suitable remedies within the framework of the present political and economic system.

Ceylon, like many other poor countries, is facing an extremely difficult task in trying even to maintain its present standard of living. With 13 million people, its population increases an additional million every three to four years, causing a severe drain on resources to provide the services in terms of houses, schools, hospitals, transportation, jobs, etc. The increase in the productivity is swallowed up by the growth in population.

This position is worsened by the expensive social services which the legislators have voted—partly as a response to need and partly to win votes. Health and education services are free, transport is subsidized heavily. The public sector of the economy, which has grown rapidly in recent years, is hardly productive of returns. Private investment is discouraged by the talk of socialism and the threats of control or nationalization.

Even the green revolution in paddy cultivation, though it increased productivity, did not bring about a redistribution of wealth or an improvement in the position of the landless rural population. Neither did mechanization of agriculture help to create jobs for the rural unemployed.

The international link-up of the Ceylonese economy further complicated the situation. After four and a half centuries of colonial rule by the Portuguese, Dutch and British, the economy of the country was largely dependent on three main export crops: tea, rubber and coconut. Economic planning and development in Ceylon are dependent on the world market of these three crops, especially tea and rubber. The prices of these commodities have gradually fallen, and recently their prices slumped further due to synthetics, increased productivity and the control of the markets by a few foreign monopoly concerns. Increased productivity does not bring in more income due to the worsening terms of trade. Thus there is a shortage of funds for the growth of the economy, and even for importing food and raw materials.

Economic "aid" has been largely in terms of loans. The servicing of loans is now a heavy burden on the economy; fresh loans have to be incurred for interest charges and for loan repayment. Thus Ceylon cannot even live on borrowed time as in the past.

Ceylon is also burdened by the difficulty of trying to maintain a certain political neutrality in the conflicts of the super powers. "Aid" is made subordinate to submission to the dictates of policy and "security" of the "donor" nations; and this immensely complicates the problems of our elected governments. The present government's speedy recognition of North Korea, East Germany and the Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and the cutting of diplomatic relations with Israel, did not help in its developmental tasks. The free enterprise countries became wary and tardy about any aid, even in the form of loans, and the socialist countries did not rush in with any help which the Left-wing of the government expected in return for its diplomatic favors to them.

The state coffers were already empty when the new government came to power in May, 1970. As the months passed, the state became bankrupt, both internally and externally. Ceylon was unable to pay its foreign debts, buy machinery and raw materials for industry, or carry on the development effort internally. Inflation, rising prices, shortages of essential food items like sugar, and the overall increase in the cost of living exasperated the population. Development came to a standstill early this year. Blackmarketeers had a field day; corruption has long been a canker in our country at all levels of society and did not decrease in spite of our precarious situation.

Almost everything combined to make the position unbearable for our youth. They lost faith in the democratic political system, in free enterprise as a means to economic development, in the leadership of the Western educated elite even if they were Marxists by profession. In general they sensed that the adult generation has no effective remedies for the country's life.

Meanwhile the New Left among the youth was enticing companions to armed revolt. They have apparently been amply helped by arms, funds and skills from foreign countries. The expelling of the entire North Korean delegation from Ceylon is not without relation to this. The youth came to the conclusion that only a radical reorientation of the country based on self-reliance and values of community sharing could bring about an effective regeneration of the country. Hence they decided to strike militarily for the capture of power in the whole country. Their bid has failed for the present.

What is on trial in Ceylon is not only a generation of adult leaders, a democratic political system and a free enterprise economy, but also the entire relationships of the poor countries within the world economic and political structures. The situation of Ceylon is not dissimilar to that of the many other Asian countries today. India, the Philippines and Indonesia face similar issues and these are likely to come to a head within the next few years.

TISSA BALASURIYA

(Father Tissa Balasuriya, O.M.I., is president of Aquinas College, Colombo, and Asian chaplain of the Catholic Students Movement.)

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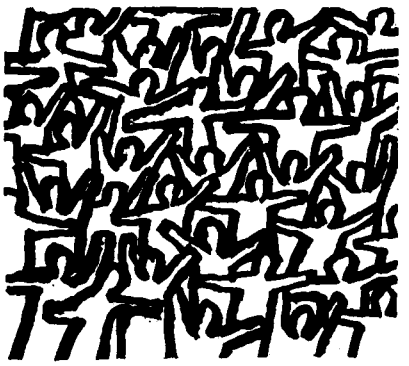
THE CATCH 22 OF WORLD POVERTY



PETER STEINFELS

THERE IS a theory, rooted in Marxism, that the wealth of the industrialized depends *necessarily* upon the exploitation of the underdeveloped world. There is another theory (the two are not the same, but can easily be held in conjunction) that unless the industrialized nations raise the economic level of the "third world" they will fall victim to a terrible, violent revolution of the poor.

While I am convinced that the rich nations do in fact exploit the poor, do in a sense cause their poverty, I am not convinced of the "necessity" of this fact. The rich do it because they can get away with it. Nor am I convinced that violent revolution threatens us; the balance of power is simply too lopsided—unless of course one or several of the rich nations decide to manipulate such revolution against other affluent rivals. I am not only convinced of these things because of my reading of the economic and political facts, but also because I am pessimistic about the future of the poor nations. For, paradoxically, both of the above theories contain an element of basic optimism: they posit an inherent connection between the destinies of the rich and poor. The poor, in effect, have leverage.

There is another possibility, which to me seems rather more likely: the industrialized world has now reached the point where it no longer needs the rest of humanity. We can let the poor rot in their poverty. Revolutions or economic boycotts by the suppliers of raw materials might inconvenience us, raise prices, force the development of substitute products, even slow down our economic growth a little (which, in turn, might be ultimately another gain for us). But no matter. Let the rest of the world go by. We have, for instance, recently witnessed a quarter of a million people in East Pakistan killed by a natural catastrophe and then a like number horribly massacred. As long as other world powers kept their distance—which they did—we were only peripherally concerned.

There is a Catch 22 to this possibility, a catch which may return some leverage to the poor after all. A while ago, I posed the problem to a foreign policy commentator I greatly respect, a forceful advocate of American disengagement from the quarrels of the "third world." Granted that America must no longer pretend to the role of world policeman, would an Olympian unconcern with the continued coexistence of affluence and misery in the world not be psychologically and spiritually intolerable? Would the fact of such misery not challenge and undermine the legitimacy of our system, as I suggested that it was already doing among young people?

"Rich kids in the suburbs will always find something to feel guilty about," he replied.

That answer, smacking so much of the "how - many - divisions - has - the - Pope?" attitude which so often passes for tough-mindedness, was distressing. It was also, I think, unrealistic. All patterns of belief must have ways of disposing of contrary evidence which might undermine their legitimacy.

The 19th-century faith that things were getting better and better every day in every way could explain away certain obvious miseries by holding that the scientific progress of the future would take care of them.

But at a certain point the evidence becomes overwhelming, the belief system can no longer absorb it, and a crisis of faith ensues. World War I and later the evil of the concentration camps did that to naive and optimistic theories of progress.

Likewise, American society, with its level of well-being, however unsatisfactory for a large segment of the population, and the political system which that well-being, in part, makes workable, cannot forever maintain its legitimacy in the face of a constantly widening gap between rich and poor. All the talk of the "development decade" was one way of absorbing the contrary facts. It is no longer very persuasive.

There are other defenses, of course, at our disposal. We could curtail American awareness of the rest of the world's suffering by deeming certain topics and images "improper" for mass media, the way Victorians did with sex. We could refurbish the belief that the prosperous are an "elect," chosen by powers above for our state in life. We could attribute the ills afflicting the rest of mankind to inherent inferiority on its part. We could simply harden ourselves in the fortress of cynicism: we were born here, they were born there, that's the way the globe bounces. The practice of apartheid in Southern Africa presents similar problems; we will know where to turn for advice.

The moral hold that the "wretched of the earth" have on industrialized nations may no more suffice to force development than economic pressures or the threat of violence. But in that case, a severe price will be paid. Those who ignore the *political* weight of moral factors are badly mistaken.

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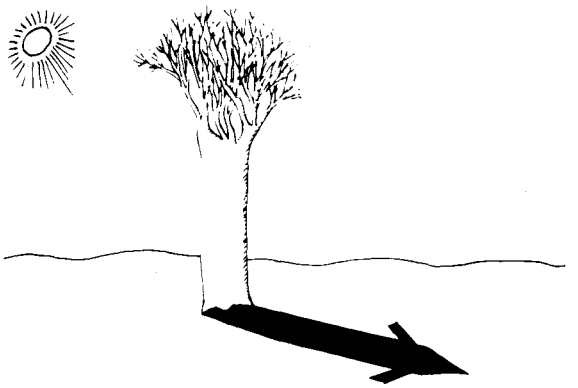
IS THE ABM MORAL?

An argument for the affirmative

EDWARD S. BOYLAN



The recent announcement that the United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to "concentrate this year on working out an agreement for the limitation of the deployment of anti-ballistic missile systems—ABMs—at the SALT negotiations, is certain to please those who have argued against American deployment of ABM. Whether the American public should be pleased with a ban on ABM is another matter entirely. For despite the near-unanimous opinion among intellectuals that ABM is a weapon system devoid of strategic value and the near-unanimous opinion among liberal religious leaders that ABM is immoral, there are strong moral and strategic arguments for deployment of ABM. Unfortunately, these arguments rarely appear in print, and when they do are all too often dismissed without serious examination of the issues they raise.

Considering the enormous destructive potential of nuclear weapons, it is somewhat surprising that a weapon system to provide some measure of protection against nuclear attack would be denounced as immoral. To a great extent, the opposition, on the moral level, comes from the threat which ABM poses to the panacea of "Assured Destruction." Before the advent of nuclear weapons, a large scale war between nations was "survivable," even if not "thinkable." As both nuclear superpowers increased their arsenals, it appeared as if a massive nuclear exchange might threaten continued human existence. Thus, prevention of any such nuclear exchange became one of the world's prime goals. But how to insure that no large exchange could ever occur? The concept of Assured Destruction provided a simple, yet satisfying answer. If each superpower could destroy the other, even after absorbing a surprise first strike, such a first strike would be completely irrational, and would never occur. The deployment of ABM by either (or both) superpower(s) could result in a situation where a nation could strike first and hope to survive a retaliatory blow behind an ABM shield. Thus, though ABM might reduce the casualties incurred in a nuclear war, this very attribute would make nuclear war more "rational," and hence more likely to occur.

ABM, indeed, poses a threat to Assured Destruction. (Though in one sense, as we shall see below, it can complement it as well.) But this is not all to the bad, however, for the concept of Assured Destruction must surely rank among the most immoral strategies yet devised by man. Before explaining this last statement, it might be well to explain the concept of Assured Destruction more thoroughly.

Perhaps the clearest exposition was given by then Secretary of Defense McNamara in his "posture statement" of January 1968 to the Senate Armed Services Committee: "We can all agree that the cornerstone of our strategic policy must continue to be the deterrence of a deliberate nuclear attack against either the United States or its allies. . . . I am convinced that our forces must be sufficiently large to possess an 'Assured Destruction' capability. By this I mean an ability to inflict at all times and under all foreseeable conditions an unacceptable degree of damage upon any single aggressor or combination of aggressors—even after absorbing a surprise attack . . . the fundamental principle involved is simply this: it is the clear and present ability to destroy the attacker as a viable 20th century

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nation and an unwavering will to use these forces in retaliation to a nuclear attack upon ourselves or our allies that provides the deterrent [against such an attack]. . . . As long as deterrence of a deliberate . . . nuclear attack upon the United States or its allies is the vital first objective of our strategic forces, the capability for 'Assured Destruction' must receive the first call on all our resources. . . . In the case of the Soviet Union I would judge that a capability on our part to destroy, say, one-fifth to one-fourth of her population [50-55 million] and one-half of her industrial capacity would serve as an effective deterrent."

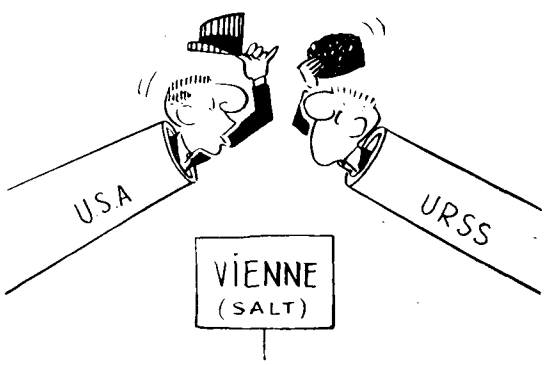
Assured Destruction, then, would require us to destroy over 50 million Russians in response to a Soviet nuclear attack. But how many of these individuals, in any shape or form, would be responsible for the decision to launch a nuclear attack on the United States? When at most some few hundreds of innocent Vietnamese are killed at Mylai there is immense shame, repugnance and denunciation. What shall we say for a policy which advocates killing over 50 million innocent human beings? Some might answer that the resulting American deaths would justify the retaliatory blow. Forgetting the question of whether two wrongs make one right, it is not at all necessary that a large number of Americans would be killed. Most land based ICBMs are not located near urban centers. What if the President received a message from the Soviet Premier, declaring war on the United States, and stating that a nuclear attack was being launched against American land-based ICBMs but that no American cities would be attacked provided no Soviet cities were attacked? Should we then, with "unwavering will," launch an attack on Soviet cities, which would mean the deaths of millions of Russians and Americans? Surely there is something obscene in believing that "the first call on our resources" should be to preserve the capability under any and all circumstances to destroy 50 million innocent human beings.

Need for Alternatives

It is time that new alternatives to Assured Destruction be found. Indeed, President Nixon made this very point in his recent Foreign Policy Report: "I must not be—and my successors must not be—limited to the indiscriminate mass destruction of enemy civilians as the sole possible response to challenges. This is especially so when that response involves the likelihood of triggering nuclear attacks on our own population. It [is undesirable] . . . to base our force planning solely on some finite theoretical capacity to inflict casualties presumed to be unacceptable to the other side."

One might, conceivably, endorse Assured Destruction if it truly did insure that no nuclear exchanges ever occur. Unfortunately, there are a number of situations where all the destructive capability in the world would not prevent mass destruction of millions of Americans: (1) accidents; (2) unauthorized attacks; (3) anonymous attacks. We have survived over twenty years without any nuclear weapon being exploded by accident, but such an accident, no matter how unlikely, might well be the most destructive in history if it did occur. In *Fail-Safe,* a popular novel of the 1960's, an American bomb destroys Moscow and the American President, in order to prevent nuclear war, orders the destruction of New York as well. Somehow, if a Soviet ICBM were to destroy New York, I suspect the destruction of Moscow would be small consolation.

Unauthorized attacks are those, essentially, where individuals launch an attack without government authorization. Suppose, for example, that a civil war breaks



out in Communist China, that rebels capture the Chinese ICBM weapons and that they threaten to attack the United States unless it intervenes in their behalf. No satisfactory course of action is apparent, regardless of the destructive capability available.

Anonymous attacks could also be unauthorized attacks, but they need not be. In this era of surveillance satellites, it is relatively easy to ascertain from which country a land-based missile is launched. Missiles launched from nuclear submarines may be more difficult to identify. One can conceive of a tense diplomatic crisis occurring between the United States and the Soviet Union. In the midst of the crisis a Chinese Communist leader might seek to instigate a war between the two nations by sending submarine-launched ballistic missiles at New York or Moscow (or both). Whether or not that plan succeeds, millions of people would perish. In a similar vein, one can conceive of the White House receiving an anonymous message that unless the United States stops supporting Israel one submarine-launched missile a week will destroy an American city.

In each of the scenarios described above, deployment of ABM could result in the immediate saving of millions of Americans. In preventing destruction of a major American city, ABM would also defuse a potentially grave nuclear crisis, which might otherwise deteriorate into a large scale nuclear exchange. Possession of an Assured Destruction capability would not be an effective or desirable alternate to ABM. This is not always quite so

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obvious to critics of ABM. Consider the following: ". . . if there were serious cause to believe that an irrational leader were actually planning . . . [a nuclear] attack, we might be morally bound to prevent it. Conceivably, that might require offensive, but certainly not defensive, weapons." What the critic is suggesting is a preventive nuclear first strike rather than destroying a nuclear attack if it is launched. But how shall we decide whether there is "serious cause" to believe a nuclear strike is coming? And what if our opponent launches a preventive strike against our preventive strike? I think ABM is much more the desirable alternative.

It should be noted that there are two types of ABM: (1) an area defense, capable of destroying missiles far away; (2) a point defense, capable of destroying missiles close to the ground. To protect a large number of American cities against a small scale attack, an area defense is more cost effective. To protect American land-based Minuteman ICBMs from attack a point defense is more effective. The Safeguard ABM system has elements of both, but the emphasis is on point defense of silos. In the scenarios of small scale attacks described above, it would be an area defense which would be of value. Point defense is important because fixed land-based missiles are becoming increasingly vulnerable to attack as missile accuracy improves. In defending our missile retaliatory force from attack, ABM improves (and some would argue is necessary for) our Assured Destruction capability. Some critics have suggested that a cheap alternative to ABM would be a "launch on warning" policy—that land-based ICBMs should be launched as soon as radar warning is received of a Soviet attack. It is relevant to ask, however, launch at what? Shall we launch a nuclear salvo at Russian cities in response to a Soviet attack on American missiles? Conceivably, our missiles might be launched at those Soviet missiles held in reserve. Unfortunately, in the short time interval between warning and the arrival of the missiles, it will be (next to) impossible to know which Soviet missiles were held in reserve. Thus, most of our ICBMs would be wasted attacking "empty holes." It is one of the moral virtues of point defense ABM that it allows the President the option to "ride out" a nuclear attack, not to have to choose between launch on warning or seeing the force destroyed, and thus be able to efficiently attack remaining Soviet missiles.

The moral arguments against ABM are basically twofold: (1) ABM will create a new arms race; (2) ABM will hinder the SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) negotiations. The best response to the arms charge is to note that we are already in an arms race. The Soviet nuclear arsenal has jumped by more than 1000 land based ICBMs in roughly five years. They have deployed a large number of "monster" SS-9 ICBMs, capable of carrying a 25-megaton warhead. In large part, Safeguard is a response to this Soviet surge. Some critics, who live in the limited world of Assured Destruction, contend that no response is needed. Other critics, more concerned about the ominous growth in the Soviet arsenal, have advocated increasing our Polaris submarine fleet as a more "cost effective" alternative to ABM. Is increasing our Polaris force less a step in the arms race than deploying ABM?

The true way to avoid a wasteful arms race is by reaching a meaningful agreement with the Soviets at SALT, not by dropping deployment of ABM. This brings us to the second charge against ABM. When Safeguard was first debated in 1969, SALT had not yet begun. Critics charged deployment would make the negotiations more complicated and create an unfavorable climate. Proponents argued that deployment of ABM would strengthen the hands of our negotiators and that a Soviet desire to curtail our ABM program would motivate them toward reaching some agreement on mutual arms limitation. Now that Safeguard is progressing, and SALT has been underway for some time, it is clear that the critics were woefully in error. SALT has been a long, drawn out affair and no comprehensive agreement is in sight. The only area of relative agreement, however, has been with respect to ABM. The Soviet have, indeed, proposed a mutual ban on deployment of ABM, except around Moscow and Washington. I doubt if even the most ardent opponent of ABM believes the Soviets would have willingly offered to limit its ABM system to Moscow if the United States had not begun to deploy ABM.

Until recently, the SALT negotiations were deadlocked, with the Soviet Union proposing a ban on ABMs (except, perhaps, around Moscow and Washington) while the United States held that limitations on ABM were acceptable only as part of an overall agreement limiting offensive as well as defensive missiles. Expectedly, opponents of ABM criticized the American stand. They argued that a ban on ABM was desirable in itself and would be a useful first step toward an overall agreement. The deadlock now appears to be broken, with both sides agreeing to "concentrate" on reaching some understanding limiting deployment of ABM, but also agreeing that concurrently "they will agree on certain measures with respect to the limitation of offensive strategic weapons." Presumably, this means that limitations on ABM will be reached together with some partial limitations on deployment of offensive weaponry, most likely the Soviet SS-9's. If negotiations over offensive limitations bog down, pressure will no doubt build up again for an agreement on limitations of ABMs alone. Hopefully, the Administration will once more resist this pressure. As was argued above, a ban on ABM (or one restricted to Washington) is not desirable. An area defense capable of defending against relatively small scale attacks is a valuable and needed improvement in our strategic posture. Moreover, we currently have the United States deploying ABM, which is of concern to the Soviets,

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and the Soviets deploying ever increasing numbers of offensive missiles, which is of concern to the United States. For the United States to drop its major program while not obtaining a reciprocal halt of the Soviet's major program would be most unwise.

But will Safeguard work? It would, perhaps, appear to be immoral to support deployment of an effective ABM system. It should be noted that there are many ways in which ABM can "work." Consider this criticism: "ABM . . . to protect us from a third power's attack —Red China—is useless . . . Would it protect Hawaii or Puerto Rico? If China . . . were . . . intent upon destroying at least a small part of the United States, do we actually expect them to strike where our defenses are strongest?" What this critic fails to notice is that ABM has "worked" if it can convince an enemy to attack Hawaii instead of New York or Washington. Similarly, if the presence of ABM can cause additional uncertainty in the minds of potential attackers, it may "work" in the sense of helping to prevent an enemy attack from ever occurring. With regard to the technical question, the issue is not clear. Many prominent scientists not involved in the Safeguard program, claim that it will not work. But the scientists who are involved in developing Safeguard all claim that it will work successfully. Now these scientists may be wrong, but to disregard their views merely because they are working on Safeguard is irresponsible. How is the Government to decide which weapon system should be deployed, if not by hiring reputable scientists? Why should scientists not having detailed knowledge be in a better position to judge a system than those who have such knowledge? Moreover, most of the critical scientists are former or even present members of the military-industrial complex. One suspects it is the critics who are judging scientists by how well their scientific views support political positions.

Does ABM make a nuclear war more likely? No definitive statement can be made but even the most optimistic estimate of the effectiveness of a large scale U.S. deployment of ABM (McNamara's Posture B) would see tens of millions of Americans die in a large-scale nuclear exchange. I do not see any American President blithely pressing buttons merely because ABM has been deployed. A nuclear war will come only as a reluctant, last alternative in some kind of desperate international crisis. ABM will not make such a war more likely, only more survivable.

Does ABM divert national resources from higher priority social problems? A good argument might be made that the Defense Department budget is too high, but why divert resources from ABM, which is at most 5 percent of the budget? Our country needs protection against nuclear crises and attacks of the type described above. Strangely, those who argue that the United States does not need any defense against nuclear attack do not support an inexpensive alternative to the deployment of Minuteman. If the United States and the Soviet Union were to agree to let each country deploy large nuclear mines under the other's large cities, then an expensive arsenal of nuclear missiles would not be needed for Assured Destruction. I doubt, though, whether the American people would agree to having Soviet mines under American cities. But without ABM, Soviet missiles are no more than long-range mines.

There are many arguments against ABM. Books have been written on the subject. If I have omitted any arguments it is not for lack of an answer, but for lack of space. I have tried to focus on the moral issues raised by opponents of ABM. To me, there is nothing immoral about supporting deployment of a system which could very well save millions of lives under a number of possible contingencies. There is nothing immoral about supporting deployment of a system which has shown its value in the search toward an arms limitation agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union. And finally, there is nothing immoral about supporting deployment of a system which provides the beginnings of an alternative to a policy which advocates the destruction of millions of innocent human beings.

JOANNE CHILDERS

THE WELFARE LADY

I move in a land set out of time and view,
Set off from hubs of industry and aim.
By roads unsigned and streams without a name
I seek the folk I serve, the silver roof
Inside a clearing. Dazed with covert life
I move in the foot-paths of my interview.

I take a certain comfort from the land.
I find a true, a tall light in the faces.
I trust the pious speech, the gentle graces.
Beyond the sty, beyond the turpentine still
The sun breaks white against the lumber mill.
My road through pine and sand forgets to end.

A hut is weathered to an unnamed hue.
The syrup of the cane has sweetened bread
Where the bottle trees ward off the dusty dead.
Geraniums in rows of tin cans prove
A beauty neither rich nor fine, a love
Unqualified by context, date or view.

And I am but an exile to this land
Sealed off from hubs of art and industry.
It seems that I have lost reality.
So far from revolution, war and change
The bounty of my path exceeds the range.
I have a need to grow, to understand.

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THE DEMYTHOLOGIZING OF LOUIS EVELY

JOHN L. McKENZIE

It is almost thirty years since I began to teach the Old Testament in a seminary. My first students, men at or near my own age, are now senior clergy like me. I tried to present what I thought was a reasoned interpretation of the Old Testament: historical, critical and theological. From the first year students asked me: How far will this interpretation go? What will happen when these principles are applied to the New Testament? I answered that the interpretation would go as far as the evidence would take us; as to what would happen, my business was interpretation, not prediction. I now know the answer; what would happen is Louis Evely (*The Gospels Without Myth*. Doubleday, $4.95).

It is exactly thirty years since Rudolf Bultmann published a conference he gave to pastors under the title of "Entmythologisierung des Neuen Testaments," the demythologizing of the New Testament. The war prevented this conference from reaching the English-speaking world immediately. When it did finally reach us, it brought a new word into the language and an intense debate into the world of theology. It puzzles me that Doubleday, a house with which I have excellent relations, should have described Evely's book as "a dramatic new interpretation of the Gospels and Christian dogma." Dramatic it may be; new it is not, by thirty years, and not because we have been hiding Bultmann behind the sofa. I speak from a natural and quite unregenerate resentment at some of Evely's animadversions about the timidity of Catholic "exegetists" (the word which the translator has created to replace the usual "exegetes"). Timid we may be; possibly we act like frightened rabbits because we have the souls of frightened rabbits; but whatever Evely knows about demythologizing the Gospels he scrounged up in the writings of us frightened rabbits. If I may mix the metaphors further, he is a scavenger in wolf's clothing.

It is quite true that no exegete has put the whole package together in a book of 167 pages. Possibly some would feel, as I do, that 167 pages will not contain the package without more over-simplification than the traffic will bear. I am reminded, however, that Bultmann, the bull in the fundamentalist china shop, wrote in his celebrated article that Jesus alone gives meaning to human existence. This may not be consistent, but Bultmann's sincerity is above question. Readers of B.'s *Theology of the New Testament* know the effort he made to give body and meaning to his statement. I regret to say that the demythologized Jesus of Evely gives meaning to nothing. Read the book and ask yourself what the Christ event may be. It is a non-event. All of us who practice historical-critical method are more familiar than Evely with the failures of this method. If it delivers to us an itinerant rabbi with immense good will and delusions of grandeur, then it has failed, and the conclusions will be decently interred in a tomb from which the stone will not be rolled away.

Evely has not written from the depth which prolonged engagement with scholarship can give. He writes with the excitement of a child who has discovered that there is no Santa Claus. Like the child, he has not tried to understand the reality of which Santa Claus is the symbol; he is resigned to the fact that there will be no presents under the tree next Christmas. The problem of the historical-critical scholar, as many unfriendly observers have pointed out, is that he creates a vacuum. It is easier to destroy a naive faith than it is to create an understanding faith. I say this not to imply that a naive "good faith" is to be preserved for its own sake; that kind of naive good faith once burned heretics, and I shall say nothing of more recent manifestations of good faith except that "the faith of the simple" is one of the major obstacles to the proclamation of the whole gospel. But it has to be pointed out that the ultimate purpose of history and criticism is to edify, not to destroy.

Evely is more excited about miracles than about anything else, and he gives them more attention. I have expressed myself about miracles in writing elsewhere and, I think, with some clarity; but Evely is less familiar with theological literature in English than I am with theological literature in French. I expressed myself on credulity in the ancient world, although this should not be exaggerated. One does indeed have Apollonius of Tyana; but in the Jewish world of the Gospels we find no great credulity about miracles. I do not know that the credulity quotient of the first century would differ much from our own credulity quotient. The rabbis of the Talmud were not credited with miracles. We understand that the

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realm of sin and disease is the realm of Satan, and that the powers of evil are repelled when human suffering is diminished. We need not share the ancient belief in demons to explain either disease or its cure. Neither, I submit, should we regard human suffering as totally dissociated from human malice; and the connection may have to be expressed mythologically. It is better to have it expressed mythologically than not to have it expressed at all. After all this is done, one has not explained the impression Jesus made on those who saw him. I confess that I have no historical and critical explanation, but I do not wish to deny that he left the impression.

I feel sure, however, that the promise that the disciples would do greater wonders than he did—whether these be his "exact words" or not—does give meaning to the power of miracles in the church, a latent power which is rarely employed. The power of miracles is a sign and symbol of the power of love. Jesus fed five thousand; the church can feed the hungry in far greater numbers wherever the church meets the hungry. Jesus healed diseases and expelled demons; the church can heal diseases and comfort the afflicted wherever the church meets them. She can expel the demons of crime and violence by proclaiming the word of the Gospel (rather than the ethic of the just war) and by giving real hope to those who turn to crime and violence because they believe they have no other direction in which to turn. The church can even offer a new life to the guilty and the desperate. The church can do all these things because the church is the living and active presence of Christ in the world. The church does not do these things? Then let us not deplore the fact that we have cherished a naive belief in miracles which never happened, but bewail those miracles which did not happen because we did not have faith the size of a grain of mustard seed. The miracle stories are among the most meaningful of the Gospel stories, and they deal with reality. They show the church what it can do.

I spoke of the church, not the individual person. I once wrote about Bultmann that his proclamation seems to be a disembodied voice with no speaker. Evely, I think, does not have even a disembodied voice. If the New Testament tells us anything, it tells us that men need each other. It builds a structure in which this need can be met. The structure is as big as mankind, big enough for all God's children. If the structure has not reached its full dimensions, this is not the fault of New Testament mythology. Perhaps again this ideal can be expressed only in mythology; the mythology is superior to the myth of a few people of good will floating around in a void looking for other people of good will. I am impatient with those whose impatience with the institutional church leads to an anti-social and even an anti-human church. Someone has said that sectarianism is innate and ineradicable in religion. The wonders of love will not be worked by isolated individuals nor by sects.

Many of us have expressed dissatisfaction with the exaggerated intellectual quality which has been attached to faith in traditional Catholic theology. It is in a way strangely satisfying that Evely has so voided faith of any content that I cannot follow him. He believes in God, but you must not ask him what that means; it is not supposed to mean anything. Neither, I understand, is one supposed to ask the lover to define what he is doing. Yet there is a vast amount of poetry, much read and admired, in which people tried to express the sentiment of love in conceptual language. They seemed to think that human love deserved something better than a passionate grunt which might come with equal depth of feeling from a boar mounting a sow. I am reminded of one of the better lines of C. S. Lewis. When the spirited discourse of the mad scientist on the blessings of the future is rendered into Old Solar, it comes out this way: "We do not know what is going to happen, but we want very much that it should happen." Evely's faith is an inarticulate grunt because it does not exist in a community of love.

The Christ Event

I said earlier that in this book the Christ event is a non-event. Let this not imply that I think I understand the Christ event, or that the church in this generation or any other has ever expressed the full significance of the Christ event. The difference between Evely and me is that I believe there is something there to be talked about, something to be searched, not to be understood totally but to be understood better. Christian faith has always meant a belief that the Christ event was, to borrow a phrase from Bultmann, the decisive eschatological event. We start from the New Testament, and once again we may find that the event has to be expressed mythologically if it is to be expressed at all. I do not observe that Evely has expressed it at all; but, as I have remarked, 167 pages are not much space in which to present "a dramatic new interpretation of the Gospels and Christian dogma." It is true that no single Gospel runs that long, but all four together take 415 pages in Aland's Greek text.

Demythologizing must of course take account of the Virgin Birth, the resurrection and the ascension. I have dealt with the ascension clearly enough elsewhere; I followed Pierre Benoit, a frightened rabbit whom Evely found quite useful in dealing with this Lucan theologumenon. The other two items require closer attention. The Virgin Birth is a problem in the same sense in which the resurrection is a problem, and I shall come to this directly; I mean that a grossly physical idea of the Virgin Birth does indeed seem to historicize

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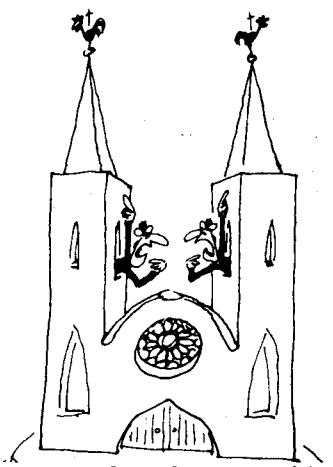
mythology. In particular I cannot myself accept the interpretation which makes the Virgin Birth a denigration of motherhood; this is closer to Gnosticism than it is to Christianity. Yet there it is; the Gospels are extremely clear on the virginal conception. They are not at all clear on virginity in and after parturition, the three affirmations (with *before*)—of the traditional doctrine. Here I confess again I have reached no satisfactory interpretation of the point. It is no more satisfactory simply to deny the reality of the Virgin Birth without looking for the meaning which the belief conveys. Certainly the belief is a way of affirming that Jesus is the son of God. Perhaps it affirms no more. Yet here also there is a depth of meaning which can be too easily suppressed. The apostolic church did not believe that Jesus was the son of God in the same sense in which the baptized are sons of God. They believed that he had a relationship to his Father which is shared by no one else. Catholic Christianity found other expressions of this belief; it affirmed natural sonship as opposed to adoptive sonship, and eternal generation as opposed to temporal generation. These formulae do not end discussion, nor do they signify that there is no more to learn about Jesus and his Father. But if we fail to find a formula other than the one mentioned above, that behind all this is an itinerant rabbi with delusions of grandeur, then we do not share the apostolic faith, and we cannot find in Jesus anything that is important.

The earliest literary evidence that the resurrection is a major problem of belief is found in 1 Corinthians. Evely has made no use of Paul's answer to the questions. Evely knows that most popular belief in the resurrection is misconception. The resurrection is not a return to that life which death ended; that would be a return to mortality, not a resurrection to eternal life. Evely makes good use of the biblical phrases which speaks of "realized" resurrection, phrases which we find in John. He also employs the language of Paul in which the resurrection to eternal life is identified with baptism. I am convinced that Catholic theology generally has failed to employ this material in discussing the resurrection; what theologians seem to want is a warm and breathing corpse, and anything else is treason to the apostolic faith. The word Paul uses for those who think in these terms is well put into English as "witless." Flesh and blood, Paul said, will not inherit the kingdom of God. I think it will take more than the fantasy of "the glorified body" to square with this text.

I also think it will take more than the assurance of grace to square with the New Testament belief in the permanence of the human person. Once again we have a belief which has been expressed only in mythology. That we have no knowledge of the meaning of permanence I gladly concede. I know why a Greek thought of the immortality of the soul and a Jew of the resurrection of the body. Both are mythological. To speak of "the permanence of the human person" may appear to be a bloodless evasion. It says more than I can find in Evely. It may be no closer to reality than the vision of the *Dies Irae*.

The resurrection of Jesus is not the same problem as the resurrection of the righteous, even though it is, as Paul stated it, faith in the one which enables us to believe in the other. I cannot see that Evely really faces this problem. He never says in so many words that Jesus did not rise from the dead; I am sure that some will conclude from his words that this is what he means. What I gather from his words is uncertainty. Here also



I have written and spoken, but not with all the clarity which I would now desire. I said above that the resurrection is not simply a return to the life which death ended. It has to be a life in a new dimension which is beyond our experience. The disciples seem to have perceived the new dimension without being able to describe it. Jesus is more than once said to have been unrecognized—noticed by Evely; he is not the same. He is seen only by those who believe—also noticed by Evely. There is no consistent account of the apparitions. Historically the resurrection is indemonstrable. It is apprehended by faith, and here the believer can ask what it is that he must apprehend.

At the minimum the New Testament faith in the risen Jesus means a belief that he lives after death in a way in which no one else lives. He does not live merely in affectionate memory, in his influence, his words, his achievements, in a movement which he initiated. The timid believer may drop it there; he confesses the risen Jesus with the same firmness and understanding with which he confesses that the Son is consubstantial with the Father. He may recognize that the ascension and the enthronement at the right hand of the Father are spatial metaphors which cannot be directly affirmed as physical realities; does the Father have a right hand? But the New Testament may indicate more about the life of the risen Jesus than it does about the life of the righteous.

The identity of the risen Jesus with the church is a modern piece of doctrine which has a clear foundation in the New Testament. Life in the church, life in grace,

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is life in Christ. The doctrine is most frequently expressed in the writings of Paul, but it is not foreign to the Gospels. There, indeed, it is not merely in the community that the believer encounters Jesus; he encounters Jesus in the poor, the needy and the helpless everywhere. The risen Jesus acquires cosmic dimensions. Those who are challenged to faith will see and hear Jesus in the proclamation and the life of the church. They will reenact his life, death and resurrection. As we mentioned earlier, they will continue his proclamation and his wonderful works. More is affirmed in these statements than organizational unity and continuity. Once again, and for the last time, there is no way to express it other than mythology. Some years ago and several times since I wrote that we should cease to distinguish between truth and mythology. The myth has its truth, and with the growth of knowledge the myth may grow into a deeper understanding. In some extremely important areas of life our belief is mythological or it is nothing. I am interested in historical and critical understanding; I am really not interested in demythologizing.

And with this I answer predictable responses to this article, such as: McKenzie is getting old and conservative. He deals with Evely on demythologizing as Rahner dealt with Küng on infallibility. My objection to Evely's book is not that it demythologizes, but that it shows no depth of historical and critical understanding. I find that it is not positively theological, and that it is not ecclesial. I think the word ecclesial has a good meaning. It was borrowed from the French, I believe, to get away from "ecclesiastical," which for me conjures up images of purple watered silk. Ecclesial may designate the community of love which Jesus initiated, and which has never entirely gone out of existence. I need fellow Christians whether Evely does or not. I believe with St. Paul that I will encounter the living Jesus in them, and because of what they show me I may be able to see him in the poor and the disinherited. Demythologizing, like theology, can become nit-picking.

If I know anything at all about Jesus of Nazareth, I know him only from the apostolic witness which is preserved in the Gospels. No one has ever done enough nit-picking in the Gospels to produce a "historical Jesus" who was more credible. I have said elsewhere that the church is not proclaiming the whole gospel. The failure of the church to execute the mission is due to some other things than an archaic faith in miracles and the Virgin Birth. It is due to a very contemporary faith in wealth, power and politics. Demythologizing Gospel texts which touch on these topics was done long before Bultmann. Quite correctly Evely observes that each generation must hear and proclaim the Gospel for itself and to itself. From his previous work I would have judged that Evely could play a major part in the contemporary proclamation. It is a pity that he fell among nits.

BEGIRLED AND BEGUILED

THE SCREEN

Even poets as good as Byron and Shelley and Keats had their off-days and not-so-good poems, so I suppose we shouldn't feel too surprised or let-down that the latest Eric Rohmer film to arrive on our shores is somewhat of a disappointment. *La Collectionneuse* was made in 1967; I saw it then (at the Berlin Film Festival) and was rather impressed with its unusual story and lovely color photography of the country around Saint-Tropez. I'm sorry it was not shown here at that time. Since then two Rohmer gems have appeared and *La Collectionneuse* is only a forerunner to *My Night at Maud's* and *Claire's Knee*—and, alas, not nearly as good as either of those films.

Being one of director-writer Rohmer's "Six Moral Tales," *La Collectionneuse* follows the plot pattern used in them all—and already familiar to us from *Maud* and *Claire*. This time, Adrien, a young dealer in antiques, refuses to go with his mistress to London and intends to spend the summer alone at a friend's villa in Saint-Tropez. On arrival, he discovers he will be sharing the place with Daniel, a painter friend and an extremely attractive, empty-headed girl, Haydée. Adrien is determined not to get involved with Haydée who has quite a reputation for sleeping around and is in fact a collector of men. What happens when Adrien is finally attracted to Haydée is only mildly interesting—especially since Rohmer's plot pattern will demand that Adrien scurry off to London to return to his first love. The main trouble with *La Collectionneuse*, however, is that its characters aren't very interesting. Haydée is attractive to look at, Daniel is clever and amusing, but Adrien, himself, is a rather dull, self-centered prig. Rohmer's admirers will run to *La Collectionneuse*; others will see *Maud* again or wait till next year for the sixth "Moral Tale," *Love in the Afternoon*.

Anyone who wants a complete change of pace (and has a strong stomach) may well find producer-director Donald Siegel's *The Beguiled* to his liking. It tells a kind of Gothic horror tale set in a girls' seminary in Louisiana during the Civil War. When a badly wounded

Summer Schedule

In keeping with the usual practice, *Commonweal* will again appear on alternate weeks during the summer months. Forthcoming issues will be dated June 25, July 9, July 23, August 6, August 20, September 3 and September 17. From then on we will resume our normal weekly publishing schedule.

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Union soldier (Clint Eastwood) is found outside the school's gates, the girls drag him in, and soon both teachers and girls are not only nursing him but also competing for his attentions. The place seems more like a refuge for sex-starved females than a refined seminary and in no time the soldier is playing his hostesses against each other. One nymph has no difficulty "seducing" the willing soldier—much to the annoyance of the sweet teacher (Elizabeth Hartman) and the fury of the determined, sex-starved headmistress (Geraldine Page). You may have to turn your head away when the infuriated Geraldine amputates Clint's leg; but don't keep your eyes closed for the girls' (big and little) act of revenge. Director Siegel goes all out in showing the harpies destroying poor Clint. The moral to the story in this well-made picture must be: don't be a wounded male in a houseful of determined furies.

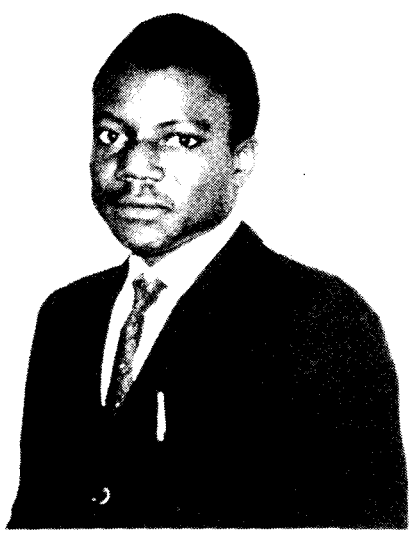
PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

Yambo Ouologuem on violence, truth and black history

LINDA KUEHL

I interviewed Yambo Ouologuem in his publisher's office in March, shortly after the American publication of his first novel, Bound to Violence, *(Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, $5.95), which won the Prix Renaudot in France and which has been acclaimed here as "the first truly African novel." Surely it is an amazing book—for epic grandeur, the compression of seven-and-a-half centuries of African history from 1202 to 1947, when his fictitious nation, Nakem-Zuiko, is on the threshold of independence; for cultural sweep: legends, myths, chronicles, religious matter woven into an opulent narrative; for eloquence: the cadence and music of the prose, splendidly translated from the French by Ralph Manheim; and for pride and courage: the risk of a black man showing his own history with complexity, humor, and shrewdness that must indeed threaten platitudes and deceptions shared in his own native Mali as well as in Afro-America.*



Q. *Is* Bound to Violence *the first truly African novel, as it has been called?*

A. It's not the first novel written by an African. It's just that the others were written from the point of view of a native son, which is to say that if the writer was born in Senegal, he wrote about Senegal, and if he was born in Congo, he wrote about Congo. I never conceived of writing from the viewpoint of a Malian or in an African language though I don't mean by this that I am not a nationalist. I only mean that you have to understand black history through a kind of unity. My book covers eight centuries and is at the same time a fresco, an epic, a legend and a novel.

Q. *How much is absorbed from chronicles and documents?*

A. The book was not absorbed. These were ancient, Arabian, medieval, old Portuguese and old Spanish manuscripts, and I condensed and raised them to the level of legend. Only from the point of view of form is it fiction, for it's about history and politics. In fact, when I first gave it to my publisher, he said it was impossible to do that way because I gave names of real people involved in crime, people who killed and trained asps, so I had to change the names and make the actual countries into one imaginary one. I did give the real name of Saif—the dynasty in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan—and the Saif still exists. But I speak of the empire of Nakem-Zuiko which is an anagram. Most names have been reversed which is perhaps why, the day after my book won the prize in France, there was a military putsch in Mali, and many political meetings took place with everyone trying to see whether his own private life or his own murders or those of his predecessors were described.

Q. *Was it a coincidence that the putsch occurred the next day?*

A. I don't say it was a coincidence. But the fact is that before giving me the prize the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France and the Ambassadors in Africa and the Presidents of the Republics wanted to give me a prize for a basic documentary history. But, since in France, you cannot win two prizes for one book, the Ambassadors were asked not to give theirs because then I couldn't get one for its literary value. Anyway, for diplomatic reasons, my publisher didn't want to emphasize political content. He had paid a lawyer to avoid trouble, and if, after that, the book was presented as a kind of secret about Africa, he would soon be involved in trials. But when it was published, I received many letters from Presidents of many Republics, each one

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thinking I had intended his own country.

Q. *How did Malians respond?*

A. Since it was the first time an African had won a major literary prize—and I was 28 at the time, competing against about 1000 French writers who were 50, 60, 70 years old—they felt proud. On the other hand, there were those who said, yes, what he says is true, but should he say it?

Q. *Why did they question this?*

A. Many of them belong to that category of people who define themselves in reference to what the white man thinks. They wanted to give the white an image of Africa that would flatter the white. But what people forget is that whites did not come to Africa after one year of fighting but after 28 years of fighting, and were then able to colonize because there was a division of states which had made slave trade possible. Sometimes there was collaboration between the white and black chiefs in order to conquer other states and share the benefits of that conquest. Whites played the game of being great reconcilers and black chiefs thought only of their own interest.

Q. *You have called African history prior to white imperialism an "orgy of violence." Is this why some Africans and Afro-Americans may have objected to your book?*

A. I did not say that the history of Africa was an orgy of violence. I only said that black people in Africa were oppressed, and that if the black man wants a better place to live he has to know his own history and not define it by thinking the only enemy is white. He has enemies too among what they call black aristocracy, and the black man never was a Negro before the black aristocrat sold him as a slave. It was the black aristocrat who made black people become Negroes. If you look at the entire history, you find there were three stages of oppression: blacks oppressing blacks, Arabs oppressing blacks, and whites oppressing blacks. Which is why I said you cannot deal with a single country of a single region of a single tribe. You cannot write from the point of view of a nationalist language if you want this comprehensive vision.

Q. *If Africans themselves were responsible for slave trade—*

A. Excuse me. Let me say that Africans were not the only people in the world to be responsible because domestic slave trade—that is to say, internal slave trade—existed throughout the world. You know, of course, about France before the Revolution, and you know about Russia before the Revolution when Russians were sold as domestic slaves in the market and other public places. The only difference is that except for the black man there was no international traffic.

Q. *According to your book, Arabs falsified African history.*

A. I mean that many mistakes have been made inside and out of Africa about the Arabs. Many people thought the Arabs were a mirror image of African civilization. Look at the phenomenon of Cassius Clay—or, should I say, Muhammed Ali? Cassius Clay—or Muhammad Ali—thought that the best way to find his roots—which is to say, with Africa—was to go through Arabian civilization. But that's a mistake. If he had read the Koran—the Holy Scriptures—he would have found in it a code defining the status of slaves, so that slave trade is inherent in Mohammedanism. It is as if a Jew—because he didn't know his own history—referred to Hitler in order to discover his own identity. But this isn't Muhammed Ali's fault because the history presented to him didn't show him that Arabs were the great slave traders.

Q. *Is the black American's affinity for Africa based upon ignorance and romanticism?*

A. No. What I am saying is that—to take an image, for example—if a mother loves her child, it doesn't mean she loves a doll that gives her no trouble or that it is always clean, neat and so forth. She knows a child is difficult to care for and that it happens to be dirty. But that doesn't prevent her from loving her child.

Q. *However, does the Afro-American acknowledge the dirt?*

A. The dirt is not only in African history but in all history. Look at the Greek past. And the dirt doesn't come from the people. It comes from the leaders, and the notables, the chiefs who oppress the crowd.

Q. *But Afro-Americans see oppression coming solely from whites and not at all from black notables or aristocrats.*

A. Look, it took me a lot of courage to write this book which is about oppressors who were my own family and I did my best to be as universal as possible.

Q. *Did you see John Williams' review in the* Times Book Review? *It confused me because he seemed to review a novel totally different from your own and appeared to be minimizing and making palatable, so to speak, what Afro-Americans may not wish to hear.*

A. I too was confused. But this is for Mr. John Williams to answer. I think you should ask *him* if he reviewed the novel.

Q. *Did you feel pressure as an African from Mali to write history in your way?*

A. Not at all, because I'm involved in publishing textbooks. I want Blacks to be educated in their own context and not in reference to either Arabs or whites. Before we had books in which people used to say things like, "It's noon. Father should come home soon." Or, "It's snowing outside. We are eating at the table. How nice to be home while it is snowing outside." And the children would ask the teacher, "What's snow?" And the teacher would answer, "Snow is cotton, but cotton that melts." And the children would ask, "Well, how can cotton melt?" So, you see, this had nothing to do with their original culture. And even here, in this country, you have history written in English, seen through the eyes of English travelers. You have few publications that are translations from true authentic traditional ancient manuscripts or from African documents or from Ethiopian tradition or Islamic ancient manuscripts.

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You have things only seen from the point of view of whites.

Q. *Can you be proud of a history based upon violence perpetrated by the Saif—your representative tyrant?*

A. The problem is to know whether we men can really do something in the world in which we have been involved through violence. That's the point. We are bound to violence, but need to think the matter over and see how to be human beings living in peace together. And those who want to find their roots should not define themselves in reference to the outside enemy—the white—since the enemy can be black also. In black America, I'm sure those who want to improve conditions of the black man do not think it's a good thing, that, in the context of oppression, the whites present them with a few successful blacks in order to make them believe there is no problem at all.

Q. *This is a sophisticated perspective and difficult to base a revolution upon because—*

A. On what can you base a revolution?

Q. *Upon something more simplistic.*

A. But realistic.

Q. *Reality simplified.*

A. How can you base a revolution on a lie? What you do is just what Saif has been doing.

Q. *As a white American, I know my history and I am ashamed of—*

A. I beg your pardon. You say you are ashamed of your history, but you mean that you already know it, and you judge—not from the point of view of historical fact—but from morals. They are two different disciplines. Politics has nothing to do with morality. I don't know in any part of the world an honest politician because in politics you have compromise and when you compromise you cannot speak in terms of morals. You only speak in terms of efficiency and power.

Q. *However, if someone is trying to find his heritage when he has been cut off from it, indeed cut off from his entire past, then I see a dilemma if the history he discovers is not a noble one but, like all histories, violent. Where does that leave the person but in a precarious position?*

A. Do you know that, in France, whites had been writing to tell me my book was the work of a revolutionary and that I wanted blacks to suppress all whites because blacks were so cunning and powerful and had such a great way of dealing with people that whites looked like puppets? And do you know that some people said I was a black Sade and that I was even dangerous because I didn't dare put my photo on the French edition?

Q. *How did you answer them?*

A. That I didn't intend to be orthodox either politically or socially or from a racial viewpoint. If we really want to do something, we have to see ourselves as we are, and to be proud of oneself does not mean looking at one's ugliness but at one's whole.

Q. *Who perverted African history?*

A. At the end of the Second World War, somebody wanted to give an ideal image of Africa, but not knowing how to do this, said that Africans were Egyptians, connecting Africa with the great Egyptian civilization. What he should have done was studied traditional African societies and shown ways in which *they* were great and not in connection with any other.

Q. *You have said that "Negro art found its patent nobility in the folklore of mercantile intellectualism," and that masks made by Saif were buried in mud and ponds and dragged up to be sold as if they were four centuries old. And that this was inspired by the European ethnologist represented by your character, Shrobenius, who "resuscitated an African universe . . . which has lost all living reality."*

A. Of course, dealing with art in this cunning way is not particular to African art but to all antiques though it is common throughout Africa. My character, Shrobenius is based in fact upon the German ethnologist, Leo Frobenius. I received a letter from his family thanking me for not mentioning that he had been kicked out of Africa for hiring gangsters and stealing. Frobenius was the consequence of the esthetic of primitive mentality, of those ethnologists who wrote about the black man as a nice silly boy adoring God, cut off from reality, living in the purity and innocence of the African world. They studied head and facial angles to determine the connection between the Negro and animals. When people got fed up with this ideology, they tried to connect black and Greek civilization because by then blacks were helping whites fight two world wars. It's like what happened during the Biafra War—sentimentality for suffering people—only at that time it wasn't sentimentality for suffering Negroes but for people who were good friends, and friends in war are good friends. So it was in that context that Frobenius was also successful and that ethnologists exploited African art for commercial ends.

Q. *Were you being satirical about Saif's Jewish heritage?*

A. No, because it was not imaginary since that heritage belongs to the history of Ethiopia, to the Negus of Ethiopia, Negus meaning King of Kings. The present Negus is called Hailie Selassie which means the power of trinity, so that you have all the religions which were the background of Christianity. I needed Saif's Jewish background to parallel the three states of oppression I mentioned earlier, there being also three stages of religion—the Judaism being a kind of spring from which Christianity and Mohammedanism were connected through paganism.

Q. *You scatter exclamatory phrases throughout your narrative, phrases like "God curse his Kingship!" and "God keep his soul!" and "God refresh his couch!" and "Oh sacrilege!" Are these humorously intended?*

A. They are a way of getting the rhythm of traditional African music as well as getting a spiritual thread and general trend of life. Suppose you are talking about something important and suddenly I say, "Now a message from your sponsor." The humor is a way of making subtle hints and reminding the reader that we are dealing with a world in turmoil.

Q. *Were there any technical difficulties*

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in writing this novel?

A. The technical difficulties came from not wanting to write a mere story. I wanted to convey the rhythm of Africa, the rhythm of the blues when I was singing despair, sometimes the rhythm of jazz. And, of course, it's horrible to try to translate the beat of music and the idea of pure sound into phrases and sentences, though not because I was writing in French *per se,* but because French was for me a foreign language. I had to be somewhat half black and half white because I was dealing with a foreign civilization. But I understood that language is nothing but a tool and that one can be oneself by mastering it, and I was mastering French by giving it the very breath of the black past. So too could the black American master Western civilization, have a hold on it, put it at a distance, have a critical view of it, and so make it something different. I don't consider myself a Frenchman or a French writer. I am an African conscious of his whole history and tradition and that's why nothing can offend me. I have a background on which to rest. And I am not boasting about that past or about my family but just showing it because that's life. And what's important in life is not making money but believing there are important things to be done and being linked with tradition because that's what makes a man be a real man—not the fact that he's universal. Universality begins with individuality. That is to say, it is when you are yourself that other people recognize themselves through your own humanity. If you belong to nothing, you are an artificial man.

Q. *On the other hand, tradition can restrict, even crush, individuality.*

A. Individuality can conflict with tradition, but this is the Western point of view, not the African. What is dramatic for me and for all Africans is that when your mother and father die, they leave a continuation of themselves, so that you keep things that have been given to you by that generation but can move further and take another step. For example, Konrad Lorenz, the scientist, has shown the difference between man and bees. Bees are very clever. They repeat their tradition, but they make no progress. In one thousand years the same bees are making honey. But what makes a man a man is that he has discovered light and light has led him to the wheel and the wheel has led him to something else, and that the man living in our century has all the feelings of that first man, Adam, but goes on opening and enriching them. The individualistic tradition in Africa is connected to the ideal of the group, whereas here it's the individual in relation to a group for a brief moment after which he forms a new group. So tradition here is more brief. As for the unity and strength of Africa, this cannot come from West Africa because that would mean it comes from England or France or Portugal or Spain because these countries have been in control. It must come from the unity of black Africans and Afro-Americans. This is the main concern of my book. To be bound to violence for the black man consists of being more conscious about himself, seeing things in a wide context and not from the point of view of a local tribe.

Q. *Why did you name your final chapter "Dawn?"*

A. Because the country is going to be independent. And I chose the game of chess because it's most representative of the medieval presence in the context of the modern strength of violence and non-violence through two characters—Saif and the Bishop—with Raymond-Spartacus Kassoumi in the background just elected as someone supposed to free the people. With dawn one thinks that tomorrow is another day. I used the game because it provides a double idea. You have everyone discovering the card of the other, because in order to move you have to know the other's intention, and here is the Machiavellian element. But there's another meaning of game which is a system played among other systems—a somewhat atomistic conception of all the substances of the world, the four elements playing together.

Q. *Is Raymond-Spartacus equipped to play the game as as well as Saif?*

A. That's the problem of violence and non-violence. You have men of love and men of bluff, and apparently the men of love have won at the end. The Bishop has won because Saif has thrown the trained asp inside the flute into the flames so that there is no longer death but dialogue. And then Spartacus know's Saif's secret because the Bishop told him. Still, at the end of the dialogue, Saif has managed to be the last one to speak, so the debate is open. And let me say that violence is not barbarity. Violence is the way of knowing how to play the game of the other and outplaying him.

Q. *Do you personally have any taste for this game?*

A. If I had a taste for this kind of game I think I would not have written the novel.

Jesus and Israel

JULES ISAAC

Edited, and with a Foreword, by

CLAIRE HUCHET BISHOP

Holt, Rinehart, $12.50

GREGORY BAUM

During World War II, Jules Isaac, a well-known French historian, lived in hiding to escape the Nazi persecution of the Jews in France. His wife and daughter had been caught. They were later murdered in a concentration camp. During this time of hiding, Jules Isaac began to reflect on the pervasive nature of anti-Semitism in Christian society and discovered how closely the Christian religion was linked to this. Without access to extensive libraries, he wrote an important book, published in 1949 under the title *Jésus et Israel,* in which he examined the teaching of the Bible on Jesus' relationship to his people and contrasted it with the later teaching of the church. He showed that the church added to her message the vilification of the Jews and that this image of contempt deeply affected the whole Christian culture.

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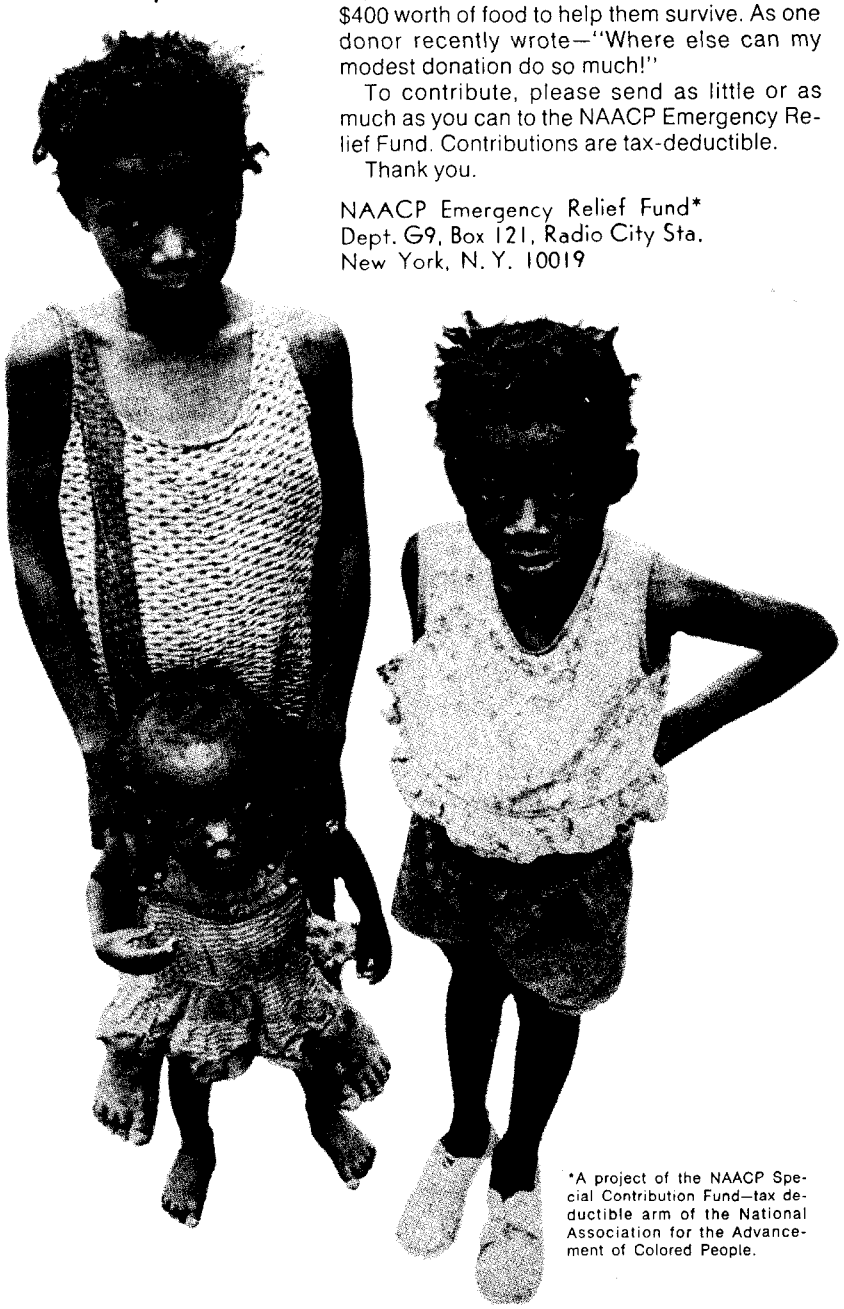
I remember reading Jules Isaac's book in the fifties. At that time I was a graduate student at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, and had been asked to prepare a series of talks on the church's relation to the Jews. I studied the material available to me, including the sensitive authors, such as Peterson, Journet and Maritain, who had just begun to correct the anti-Jewish trend in Christian teaching. While I thought I had fully rejected this trend, I nonetheless retained many categories, inherited from Christian theology, that were largely ideological misrepresentations. It was then that I hit upon Jules Isaac's book, which shattered me. Thanks to the painful encounter with *Jésus et Israel* I was able to read the New Testament with a new sensitivity. I then wrote a reply to Jules Isaac in a book later entitled *Is the New Testament Anti-Semitic?*

I was not the only one affected by Jules Isaac. The author, by that time a venerable old gentleman, was heard by many leaders in the Christian church. Thanks to his influence many churches began to examine their teachings, catechisms, and public prayers, and if they contained expressions of anti-Jewish bias, they tried to correct them and replace them by expressions of love and appreciation. Jules Isaac was received by Pope John XXIII, and there is good reason to believe that it was largely due to this interview that Pope John asked the Vatican Council to make a declaration on Jewish-Christian friendship.

Jesus and Israel, now published for the first time in English, has become a classic. It is a deeply moving book, written with clear logic, pathos, and persuasive power. Despite the great suffering of the author, the book is devoid of bitter remarks and words of accusations. The author has read the scriptures without the help of modern form and source-critical methods. He examines the meaning of scripture that is in fact communicated as the Christian people listen to it in the liturgy and read it in private. The scholar will want to analyze more deeply the composition of the Gospels and study

Won't you buy these hungry kids $400 worth of food for $10?



These kids are going through life never knowing what it is like *not* to be hungry. Their diets are so inadequate that malnutrition is endangering their present health as well as the development of their minds and bodies.

It sounds incredible because it's taking place right now . . . right here in America. But walk down the back roads of most any Mississippi Delta town and you'll see tenant farmers, field hands, seasonal workers . . . and their children . . . with stomachs bloated, eyes dulled, feet swollen, arms and legs matchstick thin.

That's why the NAACP Emergency Relief Fund is in its fourth year of collecting money to buy Food Stamps for semi-starving families. Under this federally sponsored program $1 buys as much as $40 or more in Food Stamps. Since many families have almost no income at all, contributions are vital. Your $10 can buy $400 worth of food to help them survive. As one donor recently wrote—"Where else can my modest donation do so much!"

To contribute, please send as little or as much as you can to the NAACP Emergency Relief Fund. Contributions are tax-deductible.

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NAACP Emergency Relief Fund*
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the origin of the various passages dealing with Christ's relationship to his people. But even the scholar will be moved by *Jesus and Israel.* Its message is still valid.

Jules Isaac shows some basic truths from the New Testament. Jesus Christ was a Jew, his family and friends were Jews, and the entire story of salvation, acknowledged by Christians, took place within a Jewish setting. The Gentiles came into the picture much later. To understand the message of Jesus he must be placed in this Jewish background.

At the same time the church has often tried to forget the Jewish origin of the Gospel. Christian preaching usually presented the Jewish people as the enemies of Jesus, as those who rejected and crucified him, overlooking the obvious fact that his enemies as well as his friends were Jewish. Christian theology has often argued that a divine repudiation hovers over the Jewish people. Following the same malevolent trend, Christian writers have usually presented first-century Judaism as a corrupt religion. They took the highly polemical accounts of the New Testament as a true historical picture of the religion of Israel. Thus the church created a wholly negative image of the synagogue. Christians were no longer conscious of being fraternally related to their Jewish neighbors. Judas seemed more Jewish to them than Jesus.

In theological circles these facts have become well-known. The religious educators in the churches have also become sensitive to this issue. But there is much evidence that in the church at large the ancient prejudices still remain. Jules Isaac's message still deserves to be heard.

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REVIEWERS

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Roman Catholic Modernism

BERNARD M. G. REARDON

Stanford U. Press, $7.95

MARYELLEN MUCKENHIRN

An emotional ambivalence haunted me throughout the reading of this book. I found a certain enjoyment in recalling the intellectual movements and battles out of which Vatican II somehow had emerged. But underneath there was an accompanying feeling of anger, frustration and even amazement at how little has changed in the Roman Catholic church in regard to creative thought and repressive authority. Reardon's sixty-page introduction summarizes the historical context of the Modernist crisis, 1890-1910, placing the main figures in limited biographical and institutional settings. The remainder of the book consists of selections from the writings of Loisy, Tyrrell and Von Hügel, as well as Blondel and some other French and Italian writers. The concluding section is the full text of the two papal documents condemning Modernism and "its" specific errors.

The book is valuable for its specific purpose, i.e., to make available some basic texts and some background for a limited historical period within an entire series of such books, "The Library of Modern Religious Thought." However, one would have to be specially interested in the topic, it would seem, to read on Roman Catholic Modernism at all. For such an interest, much more quantity would be necessary for each writer, as well as a more profound relating of the man to the intellectual currents of his time. For example, William James is indicated as a source of significant influence on Tyrrell, the Irish Jesuit. But such a reference would have to be pursued through much more than thirty pages of Tyrrell's writings. However, the hint is valuable.

Reardon's book should be approached as an introduction to Modernism. From this perspective it could be of interest to American Catholics who want to understand more deeply one of the sources of a Vatican II, as well as the institutionally repressive measures following the Council, many of which have penetrated to personally experienced levels. For one example, the Modernist conflict accentuates the cultural isolation of Roman Catholicism in recent centuries. Throughout its history, Catholicism has been increasingly a Western and European culture product. Its intellectual life to the present day has been formed by, as well as in conflict with, European thought. The Reformation, with all its complexity, was yet somehow a breakthrough for freedom of thought in the face of increasingly authoritarian attitudes. The Counter-Reformation movement was so effective that it took four hundred years to arrive at the Modernist attempt to relate medieval thought patterns to contemporary ideas. The smashing of the Modernist effort meant that Roman Catholicism continued into the twentieth century, its increasingly irrelevant and introspective "intellectual" life in its own isolated religious and educational enclaves. Such a point surely adds depth to the so-called crisis of the parochial schools.

Vatican II, no matter what Pope John's intentions, brought together the same two enemies as the Modernist conflict, Roman power and modernizing intellectuals. However, for American Catholics, the Vatican II drama was fascinating mainly as a museum of old world-views and ancient ceremonies. Both bishops and experts seemed locked in a world that presumed church structures, liturgies and doctrines. The only question was how to update them. And this was precisely the stance of the earlier Modernists, an agonizing hope for personal integrity and papal approval.

Another perspective for American Catholics might come from reading carefully the Papal condemnation of Modernism (1907). After 60 years the psychology and human suffering of a Pope Paul are evident there for understanding and compassion, if not for agreement. The paranoic fear of the enemy, nursed since the Reformation, slants all the statements against those evil persons outside and perpetuates the

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myth of two societies, the projected dualism so embarrassing to encounter after the insight of contemporary psychology and sociology and politics. Fear cannot be a source of light and openness and joy. The Catholic weekly press bears this out in stories tragic in personal content but so common as to induce a feeling of ennui. How much has really changed in institutional Roman Catholicism from Luther to Küng? Reardon's book may help Catholics to realize that the attempt to "reform from within" has never worked and never will, from the 16th century until now. It does seem a little late in human evolution to seek permission to think about life, truth and ultimate values. It seems even later to be positing divisive and dualistic sets of power structures like church and world, etc.

Roman Catholic Modernism was an internal, institutional affair, an attempt to crack open the oldest and tightest bureaucracy in the world. In that it failed. But the human beings who were the movement did contribute in some way to the ongoing religious experience of the human family. It is individual men, not institutions, who reflect, think, and suffer for their convictions. Their thought and life are somehow a contribution to their fellow men. Knowing more about the personal tragedies of the modernists may help us to understand the futility of merely intra-institutional conflict and the long range value of living the truth in the same world as one's fellow men. *Roman Catholic Modernism* documents the beginnings of an eighty-year battle which is still going on within Roman Catholicism, but only involving those still basically committed to traditional patterns of thought, organization and mostly of authority needs.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 299*)

conclusion from the one which Mr. Hitchcock draws. The church cannot continue to move ahead and meet the problems of life in today's world unless all of us, beginning with the Pope and bishops and right on down to the least educated member, face up honestly, boldly, and courageously to our secret doubts and disbeliefs concerning God, Christ, the Bible, and everything else in the church.

Mr. Hitchcock certainly is right in his proposition that all or nearly all of the liberals in the church were mistaken about the depth and extent of the reforms needed in the church. We imagined that, if the more noticeable deformities were corrected, all would soon be righted. Actually, the deeper we dug, the more apparent it became that any real reformation of the church had to go to the very bottom of the structure. Every doctrine, previously blindly accepted on faith, had to be treated as an assumption which needed to be torn apart to its basic elements and reconstructed from the beginning.

Mr. Hitchcock forgets the church is a field where wheat and cockle are so intricately mixed that we will have to wait until the harvest time before the good will be completely separated from the evil. The evil cockle has entwined itself in every detail of structure and belief, and so church reformation is considerably a more gigantic task than either the liberals or the conservatives realized in the past. The conclusion is not that the liberals have been dishonest or the the villains of the failure of aggiornamento, but rather the aggiornamento has failed thus far because all of us have been much too naive and simplistic in suggesting or imagining needed solutions to our many problems.

I would certainly agree with Mr. Hitchcock that a number of our radical reformers have gone to extremes in their rejection of many of the good things of the traditions of the church. It should have been mentioned, however, that this "lunatic fringe" is to be expected in any great movement of change, especially when reforms have been repressed for so many centuries. This is all a part of the probing which is necessary for any important evolutionary break-through to a higher level of truth and reality. Instead of becoming over-critical of these extremists, we should rejoice that at last there is room for such people in the church and that they can indulge in their extremist tendencies without being excommunicated or burned at the stake. Only when we listen to all sides of each question can we hope to arrive at new insights into the truth.

I agree with Mr. Hitchcock that the church's aggiornamento has reached an impasse. I think what all of us need is a supreme act of faith in God's providence that somehow, someway the

"DEAR MR. HITCHCOCK: *It is typical of my brother to attempt to deceive his constituents. It was, of course, he, not I, who appeared on Laugh-In, just as you suspected. On the other hand, you need not worry about it. His greatest deception is as yet undiscovered. It was* I, *not* he, *who was elected to the Senate. So you see, you have nothing to worry about. Yours, Wm. F. Buckley Jr.*"

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Lord will intervene and lead the church to the glorious future which God has promised. (MSGR.) CHESTER P. MICHAEL

Chatham, N.J.

To the Editors: Commonweal need not apologize for publishing an excerpt from James Hitchcock's recent book on radical Catholicism [May 14]. It could be your most significant editorial decision in the past decade. I say this not because I agree with everything Hitchcock says or insinuates; but because I feel that he has managed to identify a rather crucial segment of historical "truth" and, in so doing, provided valuable insight into some of the gut problems facing American Catholics. Moreover, it strives for balance, draws distinctions, pays heed to documentation, and is restrained in tone. It contains all those characteristics conspicuously absent from much of the Catholic press (including *Commonweal*) during the past few years.

My hope is that the publication of this article will begin a critical and civil discussion of the issues that it raises. Who knows, the Holy Spirit may still be around.

WILLIAM W. GOETZ

Lynn, Mass.

To the Editors: James Hitchcock's recent article [May 14] was excellent. It is sad to see any groups growing away from the church, but it is better to let certain groups leave than have the church become an extremist institution of the Right or the Left.

Many on the extreme Right are beginning to show their true colors. Namely, that they were just using the church to protect their pet economic or political theories. Now that the church is making peace with Socialists in many parts of the world and is moving toward a stronger stance in favor of peace, these conservatives have no further use for the "true" church of Christ.

At the same time many extreme radicals in the church find that the Catholic church is not letting them "fulfill" themselves, and they pompously and self-righteously depart. They seem to forget that the church is not supposed to be a middle-class emotional masturbation fraternity. Frankly I am sick of the bigotry and hate among "liberal" intellectual Catholics. They may love Black, Vietnamese, and low-income people, but they seem to loathe, hate, and despise popes, pastors, ethnics, and blue-collar union workers.

From their academic or suburban ghettos they complain about the lack of community in the church. Well, why the Hell don't they come back into the cities where there are real neighborhoods and communities. The fact is the liberal Catholic has been seduced by the American Dream of a home of his own with a lawn, etc., etc., etc., *ad nauseam*, and he is now blaming the church for his cowardice in fleeing the problems of the city.

Having been through the Degree Mills at a state college and Boston University and now living in a working-class neighborhood in a city and belonging to a number of blue-collar eth-

A True Revolutionary

IT IS NOT the task of the Christian leader to go around nervously trying to redeem people, to save them at the last minute, to put them on the right track. Man is redeemed, once and for all. The call of the Christian leader is to help man to affirm this great news, and to make visible in the daily events, the fact that behind the dirty curtain of his painful symptoms there is something great to be seen: The face of Him in Whose image he is shaped. In this way the contemplative can be a leader for a convulsive generation because he can break through the vicious circle of immediate needs asking for immediate satisfaction and can direct the eyes of those who want to look at what is beyond their impulses and lead their erratic energy into creative channels.

Here we see that the future Christian leader in no way can be considered as a man who is just concerned about individuals asking help in adapting themselves to their demanding world. In fact, the Christian leader who is able to be a critical contemplative will be a revolutionary in the most real sense. Because by testing all he sees, hears and touches on their evangelical authenticity, he is the man who is able to change the course of history and lead his people away from the panic-stricken convulsions to the creative action which will make for a better world.

He does not pick up every protest sign to be in with those who express their frustration more than their ideas, nor will he easily join those asking for more protection, more police, more discipline and more order. . . . More than anything else he will look into the reality of the concrete situation in which he finds himself, for signs of hope and promise.

—from Henry Nouwen's prize-winning
(Catholic Press Association)
Commonweal article, "Generation without Fathers"

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nic groups, I can personally attest to the fact that there is more compassion, charity, and true humanity among Catholic, working-class ethnics than among any group of academic or middle-class suburban liberal Catholics.

The most revolting example of middle-class self-righteous bigotry is on TV every Tues. The "hero" of every other show on TV is a good middle-class American, but the "hero" of a TV show designed to make fun of bigotry is a working man. That show could only be written by a middle-class liberal who has little contact with real working people and who is scared to put the words into the mouth of a middle-class suburbanite, where they belong.

In short I am sick and tired of hearing the Catholic church attacked and vilified by people who themselves are not perfect, although they talk and act like they think they and their ideas are perfect.

We are a community of sinners and we all have our ignorance and blind spots. The extreme liberals in the church have got to learn to love their fellow Catholics as much as they love their pet schemes and projects, just as the extreme conservative has got to learn to love his church more than his capitalist system, and his pretty shiny nuclear missiles.

JOHN M. BRESNAHAN, JR.

Chicago, Illinois

To the Editors: It is my impression that Mr. James Hitchcock in his "Aggiornamento has Failed" [May 14] has described the condition at present of the enthusiastic progressive of some years ago with chilling accuracy. I say "impression" because I am not in touch in a personal way with those whom he describes as disillusioned. But it seems highly plausible when he quotes Daniel Callahan, "We were woefully remiss in understanding of social and psychological factors."

A brief study I am doing at the moment happens to coincide with part of Mr. Hitchcock's concern, and with his conclusions. I found as I read his article that I was scoring point after point with my pen and noting "precisely" or the like in the margin. So far as my experience tells me he is completely correct in his description of the current scene. His quote of Mr. Callahan is a penetrating thrust, and if each will follow out on a wider range scale the implications of those "social and psychological factors," then progressives and conservatives in the church will have a thing to learn from one another.

The conservatives, as I see them represented by Mr. Hitchcock, and only from this article, saw trouble coming for the reason which Mr. Callahan laments. What the conservatives failed to see, and, as Mr. Hitchcock may represent them by the tone of his article and by his conclusions, they still fail to see, is that despite the personal weakness of any particular voice for reform, the church was in the presence of prophecy. Mr. Hitchcock comes to some correct conclusions for the wrong reasons. My "street-corner" philosophy tells me that conclusions might be stated more accurately in this fashion:

a) We should now see that a religious mentality formed by a paternal voice of the shepherd could not accept the freedom suddenly offered by the spirit of John XXIII and most of the documents of Vatican II without, finally, feeling a too-violent wrench toward responsibility. Responsibility cannot be learned overnight in the face of centuries of being told what to believe and what to do.

b) Even Jeremiah and Hosea screamed with human weakness in their experience of transition when it looked for a while as if their preaching and prophecy had not worked.

Prophets ought really be more patient—and surely more vision would help. They ought to realize that the buried psychological burden of centuries would surface in persons with an exuberance of felt freedom which those persons could not sustain. Give them all time.

FRANCIS STUDER

Sarasota, Fla.

To the Editors: Congratulations are in order to the *Commonweal* for printing the excellent and provocative article by Professor James Hitchcock [May 14]. He has written a courageous piece.

It is to be hoped that those of us of Protestant persuasion can be encouraged to write similar pieces, in a self-critical and reflective vain. True ecumenism will come not through a total abandonment of "dogmatic debris" nor "social action" for its own sake, but through careful study of the Church Fathers and Reformers.

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE
Assistant Professor of History,
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Vietnam and America

FROM BONDAGE TO LIBERATION

A Call To A National Organizing Conference

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Even though we Americans want the war to end, Mr. Nixon continues on his deadly policies in Southeast Asia. The government is asking the American people to believe that if fewer and fewer Americans get killed in Southeast Asia, there is less and less to worry about.

Not true! The terror of bombs, the fear of death and the continued presence of an unrepresentative ruling clique in Saigon make it clear that the liberation of Vietnam is far away. As we begin to understand this war and how it is made, we learn that it is precisely the issue of liberation that is at stake. It will be difficult to move from bondage to liberation in Vietnam unless there is a new sense of urgency for liberation at home. In the United States -- inflation, wide-spread poverty, and moral bankruptcy -- confirm our own need of liberation.

Liberation has deep roots in the Judeo-Christian experience. It is originally a biblical concept and in biblical terminology it is called redemption -- setting men free from whatever enslaves them.

Redemption in the Hebrew scriptures means deliverance from captivity. The central event in the scriptures is the liberation of the people of Israel from slavery in Egypt.

In the Christian tradition Jesus is called the Redeemer. He saw himself as the one who had come "to preach good news to the poor...to proclaim release to the captives... and set at liberty those who are oppressed."

The biblical basis of liberation is clear. But what "liberation" means to us and for us we must discover in continuing confrontation and struggle.

The National Organizing Conference at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor August 17-22 will provide an arena for approaching this issue. We will not attempt to understand what liberation means as an abstract theory; rather, we will develop a style of working together, struggling in a way which is mutually re-enforcing and supportive at both the local and national levels. Workshops, discussion groups, and plenaries will all be aimed at both the issues raised by the war and the means by which persons in community can struggle to end the conflict in Southeast Asia.

As we face a difficult and dangerous period in the history of man, we remember that our task is not to assign blame for the past, but to accept responsibility for the future.

We believe that the process we begin at the National Organizing Conference will be a new and necessary step for persons in the religious community -- both for their own liberation and that of the millions of people of Southeast Asia.

"In a Democracy, While Some may be guilty, all are responsible."

Rabbi Abraham Heschel

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